

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
ROUTING SLIP

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14	D/OLL				
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Executive Secretary
13 March 1985
Date

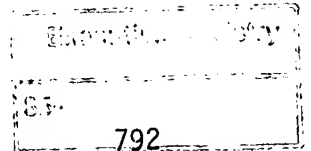
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STAT



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520



March 6, 1985

MEMORANDUM TO DISTRIBUTION LIST A

FROM: S/LPD - Otto J. Reich *OLR*
SUBJECT: Call for National Dialogue by Nicaraguan Resistance

On March 2, key anti-Sandinista political leaders joined armed opposition leaders in a statement calling for a "national dialogue" with the Sandinista leadership. This comprehensive statement symbolizes the anti-Sandinistas' sincere desire for peace and their commitment to democracy. As the initiative said, "We aspire to the democratization of Nicaragua, conscious that democracy is the only means to carry out an authentic revolution and rescue our national identity and sovereignty."

The document was signed by, among others, former presidential candidate Arturo Cruz and former La Prensa editor Pedro Joaquin Chamorro from the political opposition, and Nicaraguan Democratic Force leader Adolfo Calero, Alfonso Robelo and Fernando Chamorro from the armed opposition.

These opposition leaders are calling for a dialogue to begin by March 20, and they state that if the dialogue is not begun or has not "progressed in clear and substantial form" by April 20, "it will be definitely suspended by the Nicaraguan Resistance, thereby terminating the possibilities for a peaceful resolution of the national crisis."

Enclosed is an unofficial translation of the document. I am also including an article from the March 3 Washington Post, which assesses the significance of the initiative.

Enclosures:
As stated.



C387

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF THE "DOCUMENT ON NATIONAL DIALOGUE OF THE NICARAGUAN RESISTANCE" AS SIGNED BY THE VARIOUS RESISTANCE LEADERS AND READ TO MEMBERS OF THE NICARAGUAN EXILE COMMUNITY IN SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA, 11:30 A.M., COSTA RICA TIME, MARCH 8 1985.

We, democratic citizens, representatives of all sectors of the Nicaraguan Resistance, announce to the Nicaraguan people, to the governments and peoples of the Americas and of the world, the following manifesto:

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF NICARAGUA

In recent years, the Sandinista Front has submerged our people in a crisis without precedent in our national history.

At this time, the impact of this crisis is evident in the economic, political, social and moral spheres of the nation.

This situation is rooted both in the abandonment of the Original Program of Government and the Fundamental Statute as well as in the interference of the Soviet Bloc in our internal affairs.

Both factors, the sole responsibility of the Sandinista Front, have brought about a sharp conflict whose protagonists are the governing party on the one hand and the Nicaraguan people on the other.

The Nicaraguan people reject, of course, the imposition of a regime which in essence contradicts the values and aspirations which gave birth to the revolutionary process. They are founded on the recovery of freedom, democracy and social justice so often postponed because of the Somoza regime.

In conclusion, the national crisis we face did not grow out of a confrontation between imperialism and the revolution, as the Sandinista Front pretends, but out of the contradictions which emerge from the clash between democratic expectations of the Nicaraguan people and the imposition of a totalitarian system such as that which is being implanted in our country by the Sandinista Front.

This conflict, which has produced a civil war, today threatens to destroy the Nicaraguan nation. And as stated in the recent document of the Nicaraguan Democratic Coordinator, it cannot be resolved through negotiations between the governments of other nations and the Sandinista Front nor through sectarian dialogues.

From that perspective, it is clear that the elections of November 4, 1984, by virtue of having been a farse, contributed nothing toward the resolution of the national crisis. This view has been supported by the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights in its report for the period 1983-84, as well as by the political groups which decided to participate in the "elections", as they stated in the document entitled "Proposals of Minimum Concurrence for the Renewal of the National Dialogue," issued in January of this year.

The solution to the national crisis can only be found through a genuine understanding among all Nicaraguans that might end the civil war and lead to the reconciliation of the Nicaraguan family.

We wish to emphasize that this initiative is not taken merely to search for a quota of power, but rather it seeks only to establish in Nicaragua the rule of law which will permit the people to live in peace and to go about resolving our problems within a new constitutional order.

COMMON ASPIRATIONS

We aspire to the democratization of Nicaragua, conscious that democracy is the only means to carry out an authentic revolution and rescue our national identity and sovereignty.

We aspire to reconstructing Nicaragua, to promoting its development in accordance with a model which gives priority to the dispossessed sectors.

We aspire to the establishment of a political system which guarantees a real separation of powers, authentic pluralism and a just, efficient mixed economy.

In order to carry out the foregoing, the following is required:

- a) To recognize the primacy of civilian society with respect to the State and to assure through it the dissolution of the totalitarian state-party-army trilogy.
- b) Full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms of expression, assembly, religion and education.
- c) De-militarization of society and the absolute subjection of police functions to civilian authority.
- d) A foreign policy which has as objectives the preservation of national sovereignty, peace and harmony with neighboring countries in particular, and effective reactivation of the historical aspirations of Central American Unity.

- e) An economic system which provides for the development of the private sector which includes cooperative enterprises, as well as the clear definition of the participation of the State as a subsidiary economic agent and promoter of social development.
- f) Institutionalization of a multi-party electoral system which guarantees free elections, alternation in power and respect for the minority.
- g) Freedom to organize unions.
- h) A modern, productive process of integral agrarian reform.
- i) Administrative decentralization and effective autonomy for municipal government.
- j) Full recovery of the Atlantic Coast, integrating it completely in the national life, guaranteeing respect for the culture and traditions of the various ethnic groups of the region and of the rest of the country within a framework of effective municipal autonomy, exercised in the context of the insolubility of the Nicaraguan nationality.
- k) General amnesty and pardon for political crimes and related crimes.
- l) Expulsion from the country of all foreign internationalists, military advisors and troops, including those who may be found using the identity of deceased Nicaraguan citizens and those who have been improperly naturalized.

THE LAST AND DEFINITIVE SUMMONS

After having carried out multiple peace initiatives in the last three years directed toward establishing a constructive dialogue with the Sandinista Front that would end the civil war and lead to the reconciliation of the Nicaraguan family, we recognize that those efforts have been fruitless because of the intransigence of the Sandinista regime and because of the designs of the Soviet bloc.

The Sandinista Front, by ignoring and failing to comply with the agreements made in the past, has lost the necessary credibility to reach a good faith understanding. Such is the case of the agreements reached with the XVII Consultative Meeting of the OAS Council of Ministers, the Original Program of Government, the Fundamental Statute, the Eighteen Points of Concurrence of the Forum for Discussion of National Problems, and the promises to carry out a free and honest election, among others.

Therefore, in view of the gravity of the moment, and conscious of our civic responsibilities and of the urgent need to save our people from greater suffering, we accept the call to convene issued by the Nicaraguan Democratic Coordinator and we call upon the Sandinista Front, for the last time, and in definitive and absolute fashion, to participate in a national dialogue which will end the national crisis. This dialogue should follow these modalities:

Convocation

The Nicaraguan Bishops Conference is the entity with the necessary moral authority to organize and coordinate the National Dialogue. In this regard, we reiterate the petition made to it by the Democratic Coordinator to convene the National Dialogue.

Participants

In order that the dialogue be efficient and produce the desired results, it is necessary to structure it in accordance with Nicaraguan reality. There are two political tendencies in Nicaragua: the totalitarian one which for the moment has accepted the Sandinista Front as its vanguard, and the democratic one which is divided into armed organizations and civilian organizations; therefore, the Dialogue should be between these two political tendencies so that both can name their respective delegates, as many as the Bishops Conference feels is appropriate.

Observers and Guarantors

We suggest to the Bishops Conference that it request the participation of the Central American Governments in the Dialogue as guarantors of the agreements which may be reached, given the fact that the sister peoples of Central America are, in the final analysis, are those which have been most directly affected by the Nicaraguan crisis.

The presence of these governments as guarantors in no way hinders the presence as observers or even as guarantors of other governments and democratic entities of the American continent.

Minimum Requirements

We support fully the minimum requirements demanded by the Democratic Coordinator in order to initiate the National Dialogue. They are: Suspension of armed activities, with a cease-fire in situ; lifting of the state of emergency; absolute freedom of expression and assembly; general amnesty and pardon for political crimes and related crimes; entry into effect of the right of asylum and habeus corpus, adding the granting of full protection of the physical and moral integrity of those members of the Resistance who participate in the Dialogue, in the event that it should take place in Nicaragua.

The application of these measures should be carried out under the supervision of the guarantor governments.

Temporary Permanence of the Executive.

If this dialogue is carried out, we commit ourselves to accept that Mr. Daniel Ortega continue acting as head of the Executive Branch until such time as the people pronounce themselves in a plebiscite. During this period, Mr. Ortega should govern in fulfillment of the promises of the Nicaraguan Revolutionary Government Junta contained in the document of July 12, 1979 and directed to the Secretary General of the Organization of American States, an in fulfillment of the Original Program of Government, the Fundamental Statute and the American Human Rights Convention and the Pact of San Jose.

Initial Points of the Agenda

Although it will be up to the Bishops Conference to establish a definitive agenda, by agreement of the parties, we urge it to include as of now the following points:

- 1) That the legal procedure and actions of the government conform immediately to the American Convention of Human Rights, or the Pact of San José, which was ratified by the Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction on September 25, 1979, declaring it the law of the land and committing the national honor to its enforcement.
- 2) The dismantlement and immediate dissolution of all the party repressive organisms such as the CDS (Sandinista Defense Committees) and the other para-military organs.
- 3) reduction of military strength, the apolitical nature of the army, an end to the arms race, and the withdrawal of all foreign military troops and advisors and internationalists.
- 4) Immediate dissolution of the National Constituent Assembly.
- 5) A new provisional electoral law.
- 6) A new provisional law for political parties.
- 7) Re-structuring of the electoral system in accordance with the above provisional laws.
- 8) Calling of elections for a National Constituent Assembly.
- 9) Calling of municipal elections.
- 10) Calling of a plebiscite on the conduct of new presidential elections.

Initiation of the National Dialogue, Instrumentation and Deadlines

In order to carry out the National Dialogue proposed by the Democratic Coordinator, on the basis of the statements contained in this document, and conscious of the leninist tactic of stalling in order to consolidate the totalitarian program of the Frente Sandinista, said Dialogue must begin by March 20, 1985. This date cannot be postponed. If by April 20, 1985 the National Dialogue has not begun or has not progressed in clear and substantial form, it will be definitely suspended by the Nicaraguan Resistance, thereby terminating the possibilities for a peaceful resolution of the national crisis.

If the Nicaraguan Bishops Conference considers it useful to hold conversations with this group for purposes of preparations leading to the speedy realization of the Dialogue, we announce our immediate availability to participate in such conversations. To that end we appoint as our representatives Mssrs. Arturo J. Cruz, Alfonso Robelo and Adolfo Calero.

May love for our fatherland overcome selfishness and foreign involvement, so that the National Directorate of the Sandinista Front will respond positively to this our last effort to grant to our country a civilized solution.

God Save Nicaragua!

THE WASHINGTON POST

SUNDAY, MARCH 3, 1985 A25

Rebel Leaders Demand Talks With Sandinistas

Political, Military Figures Join in Appeal

By Edward Cody
Washington Post Foreign Service

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica, March 2—Key anti-Sandinista political leaders joined the armed Nicaraguan rebel movement today in a new demand for dialogue with the Sandinista leadership on ways to bring peace to Nicaragua.

The declaration, indirectly broadening political support among exiles for the guerrilla war there, coincided with a vigorous campaign by the Reagan administration to persuade Congress to renew CIA funding for the rebels. In that context, it seemed partly designed to strengthen administration arguments that the guerrillas represent the spearhead of broad-based political opposition to the Sandinista government.

The declaration unveiled here after weeks of negotiations, entitled "Document of the Nicaraguan Resistance on National Dialogue," was intended as the expression of a political accord among exile leaders both within and outside the guerrilla war that has been raging in Nicaragua for three years, its drafters said.

For the first time, it brought former presidential candidate Arturo Cruz into a grouping with the main guerrilla organization fighting in Nicaragua, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force. Cruz, a former Sandinista official, previously had avoided open association with the force and insisted today that his signature on the document did not

make him part of any political front designed to facilitate renewed U.S. funding for the guerrillas.

"We are not lobbying," he said. "This has nothing to do with the aid from Congress."

Two leaders of rebel forces not allied to the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, Eden Pastora and Brooklyn Rivera, declined to sign the document.

Leaders of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force appeared pleased that Cruz had joined them in the declaration of political goals and what they called a "last chance" challenge to the Sandinistas to open a national dialogue on finding peaceful ways to settle the conflict. Cruz, who has lived many years in Washington, is regarded by guerrilla leaders as a forceful ally in dealing with U.S. congressional leaders.

Adolfo Calero, the force's chief political figure, pointed out that Cruz's association with the political document marked a departure and added: "If the Sandinistas do not reply, I would interpret this to mean Mr. Cruz agrees with [the Nicaraguan Democratic Force] in reinforcing our quest for military opposition."

Another leader of the force, Indalecio Rodriguez, said that even though the document is only political, it could form the basis for an umbrella group that could receive U.S. funds if Congress refuses to give money directly to the guerrilla forces.

The document, which repeated

political goals long held by Cruz and the other signers, gave the Sandinista leadership until March 20 to agree to the idea of a dialogue under the aegis of the Roman Catholic Church's bishops' conference.

"If on April 20, 1985, the national dialogue has not begun or has not advanced in a substantial and visible way, it will be definitively suspended by the National Resistance, and with that the possibilities of a peaceful settlement to the national crisis will be considered ended," it added.

This seemed to be a threat to the Sandinistas that if they continue to refuse the demand for dialogue, Cruz and the other political leaders who have avoided joining the guerrilla movement will lend their full political weight to the war.

The Sandinistas previously have rejected similar demands for national dialogue on opposition political goals such as dissolving the link between the Army and state and the ruling Sandinista National Liberation Front. Other goals include pluralist elections, a mixed economy and expulsion of foreign military advisers.

At the same time, rebel leaders pointed out that President Daniel Ortega recently has made a series of gestures designed to renew the Contadora peace negotiations, indicating that the Sandinistas are seeking some opening. The way to settle the conflict, the document said, is not negotiations between the Sandinistas and other governments, but between the Sandinistas and their Nicaraguan opponents, armed as well as unarmed.

Signing the document, along with Cruz and Calero, were rebel leaders Alfonso Robelo and Fernando Chamorro and Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, former editor of the opposition newspaper La Prensa, who left Nicaragua for exile late last year.